

SPEECHES

OF THE

HON. G. E. CARTIER

ON SUBMITTING THE

MILITIA BILL

AND THE RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING THE

FORTIFICATIONS

OTTAWA

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FIRST READING
OF A BILL RESPECTING THE
MILITIA AND DEFENCE
OF THE
DOMINION OF CANADA.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

March 31st 1868.

The Hon. Mr. CARTIER, in introducing the above Bill, said he hoped that it would be favourably received on both sides of the house. The idea had been thrown out a few days ago that the Bill when introduced would act as a torpedo on his side of the house. He did not anticipate anything of the kind. His hon. friend from Ottawa had declared last night that the Minister of Militia was always audacious, *semper audax*; he would remind his hon. friend of a quotation (he believed from Virgil,) *audaces fortuna juvat*—(laughter)—and he did not expect that this measure would upset the Government, as the militia measure of 1862 upset himself and his colleagues in that year. This measure he looked upon as necessary to complete our national system, as a Confederation. As he had remarked on former occasions, we had in this Confederation three elements necessary to constitute a nation—the personal, territorial and maritime elements; but when those three elements of national strength had been obtained there was still another necessary to crown the whole—the military element. (Hear, hear). No nation on earth could pretend to be a nation until it attained the military element, or the power of defence. He did not say

that we should have a military organisation with a view to aggression ; we had sufficient scope at home for our ambition. Our constitution allowed us to extend our Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and he was as desirous as any one could be that, with a view to this, we should as soon as possible acquire the Northwest Territory, and get British Columbia brought into the Confederation. Now, with regard to the measure he was about to introduce, he might say he had felt it a duty incumbent on him before submitting it to the house, to make himself acquainted with the militia laws of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. New Brunswick, he supposed, contained a population of 300,000 and Nova Scotia 400,000, Upper Canada, he supposed, had now a population of between 1,600,000 and 1,700,000 and Quebec between 1,300,000 and 1,400,000. Although Ontario, and Quebec had thus by much the larger proportion of the inhabitants of the Dominion, still the Maritime Provinces furnished a very important element of defence in their sea-faring population. If we ever had a battle to fight there was no doubt that it would have to be fought to a large extent on the sea, and then, though Ontario and Quebec would have a greater number of men to send into the field in the shape of infantry, artillery and cavalry, still, in the matter of maritime defence, the Maritime Provinces would take the first rank. After this preface, he was now prepared to approach the subject matter of the measure. As he had already said, he had considered not only the law of the late Province of Canada, but the militia laws of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and he might add Prince Edward Island, and he had given directions that all those laws should be distributed in connection with this Bill. He had included those of Prince Edward Island, because he hoped we might ere long welcome it as one of the Provinces comprising this Union. In preparing this measure he had also had the advantage of the report made by the gallant Colonel at the head of the Militia of the Province of Canada, Colonel MacDougall, who had prepared in the shape of a Bill his views as to Militia organization of the country. He (Mr. Cartier) had had the benefit of those views to aid him in bringing this measure before the House. He might also say that he had derived some benefit from the consideration of the measure which in 1862 upset his government. (laughter). It was due to Col. Lysons and the gentlemen associated with him by His Excellency as a commission to report on the militia laws, that he should say that the measure famed on their report had been a great help to him. (Laughter). The Bill which he had now the honour to introduce to the House divided the militia into active and reserve militia.

The active militia was to be composed of volunteers, of the regular militia and of the marine militia. The reserve militia would be composed of the men who would not be called to serve in any one of these capacities. The militia in general would be composed of the male inhabitants of the Dominion between 18 and 60 years of age, who would all be liable to be called out in case of a *levée en masse*. The militia would be divided into four classes. The first would comprise all male inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 30, unmarried, or widowers without children; the 2nd class would comprise those from 30 to 45 unmarried or widowers without children; the 3rd class would comprise male inhabitants from 18 to 45 married or widowers having children; the 4th class would comprise the very respectable class consisting of male inhabitants from 45 to 60 years of age. The Bill permitted the organization of volunteers as under the existing laws. A certain time would be allowed within which volunteers might enrol themselves, and then if the number was not sufficient the bill proposed for the filling up of service Companies, so that the number of trained men throughout the Dominion should not be less than 40,000, while at the same time the officers of the reserve Militia or such proportion of them as the Governor General might fix, should be obtained to train along with the service company men. If any regimental division did not furnish its full quota of active service men by means of volunteering, then the necessary number of service men should be drawn by ballot from the regimental division. The Bill provided that the Dominion should be divided into nine military districts, of which New Brunswick should form one and Nova Scotia one, while Quebec should be divided into three, and Ontario into four districts. At the head of each district there would be a District Deputy Adjutant General, with a sufficient staff to help him to see that the militia laws were properly carried out in his district. The Bill also provided that the Dominion should be divided into such number of regimental divisions as may be thought proper, with power to increase or alter them whenever circumstances might appear to require it. If it should be determined that the Dominion should be divided into two hundred regimental divisions, then, according to our present population, Ontario would have 88, Quebec, 68, Nova Scotia 24, and New Brunswick 20. Besides the regimental divisions there would be a topographical company division. The Bill provided for the appointment of a lieutenant-colonel and two majors for every regimental division, with captains, lieutenants, ensigns, and such non-commissioned officers as might be necessary. From the regimental divisions

would be furnished in time of peace such service companies to be trained as would make up the number of 40,000 men, as at present. Judging from the amount paid for drill, he believed the active volunteer force of the late Province of Canada was between 20,000 and 24,000 men. At the time of the Fenian raid there were about 31,000 enrolled volunteers, but the number had diminished since. According to the statistics he had received from New Brunswick, the number of volunteers there was about 2,000. As regarded Nova Scotia he had no accurate data. The present measure was to some extent compulsory ; the volunteering system was left, but if, under that system, the number was not brought up to 40,000, then the ballot would be brought into requisition ; so that each regimental division should furnish its quota. To make up the number to 40,000, Upper Canada would have to furnish 17,500 ; Lower Canada 13,500 ; New Brunswick 4,000 ; and Nova Scotia 5,000. Each regimental division would furnish its quota, not according to its strength in population, but according to its actual strength on the roll of men enrolled for militia service. If the ballot should be necessary in any regimental division, the service company men would be selected,—1st. from unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 30, and if these were not sufficient, then from the unmarried men between 30 and 45 ; next, from the married men between 18 and 45 ; lastly, although he supposed that would never be necessary, from those between 45 and 60. As regarded the organization of the regimental divisions, the enrolment would be made by the Captain of each Company, with the help of the other officers and non-commissioned officers. The Captain was empowered to call at every house, to make such inquiry with regard to the militia men owing militia duty, and to obtain such other information as would enable him to make out his rolls. This duty would not be repeated each year, but only each alternate year. The cumbrous system of calling upon the assessors in each municipality to make the enrolment, had proved unsuccessful, the returns not being accurate. Under the existing system there was the inconvenience of three operations ; first, a return by the assessors ; second, a drawing from these returns by the Sheriffs in Upper Canada, and Registrars in Lower Canada, of the active service battalions ; and third, the going from house to house by the captains of each company in the service battalion to enrol his men. Under this law some 80,000 or 90,000 men had been drawn, but no use had ever been made of them. Another defect of the existing laws was that it did not provide machinery for showing what was the strength of the non-service militia. Of all the pro-

vinces the one which had the best militia law was New Brunswick, and the best results had been obtained from the working of the law in that Province. The Bill he now introduced provided that the service companies enrolled for active service should serve for only two years, and that the volunteers should serve three years. The training to be exacted every year would be not less than eight days, and not more than sixteen, but any corps or company could drill on any days beyond this limit which might be agreeable to them, or which might be directed by their commanding officer. As regarded drill days not comprehended in the sixteen days, only the active militia men residing within two miles of the place of training should be required to come. The lieutenant-colonels, majors and captains of regiments would have to be resident within their own regimental divisions. They would thus know their own men, and the men would receive explanations of the system from officers residing among themselves, in whom they would have confidence. In 1862 there was an enrolment made under the law then existing, which gave for Ontario and Quebec 305,000 militia men, between the ages of 18 and 60, besides 25,000 volunteers. As a number of battalions did not make returns, an approximate estimate for these brought up the number to 475,000. Since that time the number must have increased to 600,000. New Brunswick now returned 43,000; and the number in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia combined must be 100,000—giving a grand total for the whole Dominion of 700,000 men able to defend the country. (Hear hear). Of these, and the fact was an important one, the number of seafaring men and sailors must be as at least 70,000, of whom between 40,000 and 50,000 were furnished by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Mr. Cartier proceeded to enlarge on this point at some length, shewing that the maritime power of England, as compared with that of France, rested on the number of its seafaring population. He quoted a remark of the first Napoleon, that he could build any number of war vessels, but what he was deficient in was sailors to man them, and pointed out with regard to England, that if all her navy and mariners were destroyed she had enough seafaring men employed in her commerce to man a new navy. The fact that we had 70,000 seafaring men here must be regarded, therefore, as a very important element in our military strength. By this Bill the captain, in making his enrolment, would have to distinguish between the Militia proper and the marine Militia. It has been stated in the Lower Provinces, in order to excite the prejudices of a portion of the inhabitants, that their Militia would be brought up to defend us here. Well! as regarded the

seafaring men and sailors, he would say they would not be obliged to undertake any Military duty, because the best training they could have was their actual employment on the sea or on our inland waters. This measure did not profess to organize the Marine Militia. That was a matter left for regulation by the Governor in Council. At the same time ample provision was given to encourage the organization of naval corps and companies. He believed his Nova Scotia and New Brunswick friends would find that under the organization which he now submitted, they would be subjected to less arduous militia duties than they were now subjected to by their own laws. He was told that there was a provision in the Nova Scotia Militia law which enabled the Governor to order the whole population owing militia duty to drill any number of days in the year. By the last order, if he was correctly informed, the whole militia men in Nova Scotia were obliged to undergo militia training during five days in the year. That is to say, between 35,000 and 40,000 men were called to do militia duty at great inconvenience. Under the present bill, Nova Scotia would only be required to furnish 5,000 men for actual militia duty. Mr. Cartier then explained that the division according to ages in the present bill, he had taken from the measure for reorganizing of the army which had recently passed the French chambers. He was satisfied that among the young men from 18 to 30, they would find a sufficient number to complete the 40,000 men required to drill, even supposing there should be no volunteer organization. The result would be that every two years there would be 40,000 young men disseminated amongst all portions of Canada, after having acquired considerable familiarity with the use of arms, and whose training would be found valuable if necessity should ever again require them to be called out for actual service. As he had already stated, not only the 40,000 active service men, with their officers, would be trained, but all the officers of the reserve militia would be required to drill with them, and would thus be better qualified for command, if in case of war or other emergency a greater number of the militia than those 40,000 should be called out. If there were 200 regimental divisions, there would be thirty officers to each regiment, making the number of non-service officers to be trained 6,000; if there were 300 regimental divisions the number would be 9,000, and so on. The active service men with their officers and the non-service officers would all be paid at the same rate for drill—50 cents a day. The Bill of 1862 was defeated because it was objected that it was too expensive, too large; and yet when the member for Cornwall introduced a measure, the first thing he

asked was an appropriation of \$250,000 for the organization of volunteers—the largest amount which had ever been appropriated for militia service up to that time. In the following year, the member for Cornwall introduced a measure providing for a still larger organization and requiring still larger expenditure. Since then, very much larger expenditures had become necessary—first, to prevent a recurrence of proceedings like the St. Albans' raid, and next, to meet the Fenians; but he believed no portion of the inhabitants had grudged those expenditures. The Fenian raid had given us, in a measure, that education as to the question of defence, which we had not when the Bill of 1862 was rejected. He was bound here to pay a compliment and he did it with great pleasure to an officer of the militia, appointed by the member for Cornwall, he alluded to Lieut. Colonel Powell. The experience we had had of the services of that worthy officer had proved to him that no better appointment to the office of Deputy Adjutant-General of Militia could have been made. (Hear.) He went on to express his opinion that the Imperial Government would be satisfied with the number which this bill provided should be trained for active service. He then enlarged on what might be accomplished by our 700,000 militia men. Looking at the way in which the four millions of Southern whites are famishing, where 400,000 fighting men had defended their country for four years against twenty-four millions of the north who had put into the field during the war 2,600,000 men, we would be in a far better position to meet the difficulty than the Southerners, if it should be our misfortune to face an invasion even from the American nation, for we would have 700,000 of our own fit to bear arms besides having the whole power of England at our back and the sea open to us. (Hear, hear.) In the present bill the number of exemptions were very limited, only Judges and Clergy were not liable to bear arms, and one or two other classes. As regarded Quakers, they would not be required to take part in anything connected with actual fighting. He went on to explain that his reason for taking the control of the Militia Department was because its duties were arduous and he desired to engage in them. Besides, it was a diversity, and in his time he had occupied various important positions. He had had much to do with their educational legislation; with their railway legislation; with the codification of the laws, and with the appointments to the bench and bar, as was evidenced by the discussion last night. (Laughter.) Now, he assumed control of the Militia Department and hoped to give satisfaction in the discharge of its duties. (Hear and laughter.) Now he came to the bill of costs—the “to be or not to be” he supposed,

of the whole scheme, and as he approached this portion of the subject, he warned hon. gentlemen not to place too much faith in newspaper statements concerning the expenses of the militia organization. Before going further he desired to call the attention of the member for Chateaugay to another subject german to this—fortification. That was a question of money, and when the bill before the House was discussed on its second reading, he proposed then to explain the Government measure regarding fortifications. He would state the amount of money which would need to be expended by the Dominion to complete the fortifications required of them by the Imperial Government. He would not say a word as to this expenditure at present, but would merely ask honourable gentlemen on both sides of the House not to let themselves be frightened beforehand—let them wait for his statement, and he was sure they would be delighted with it. (Laughter.) Before alluding to the bill of costs, he would lay before the House a statement of the militia expenditure for the late Province of Canada since 1864 and '65. In that year the appropriation for militia service was, in round numbers, \$384,000. Then arose the necessity for reorganizing the militia, in consequence of the St. Albans raid, and hence the expenditure in that year reached \$744,000; and there had to be a vote of credit given in order to cover the amount expended in excess of the appropriation. In the year 1865 and 1866, the year of the Fenian invasion, there was another large and unexpected expenditure for militia services. The sum voted for that purpose was \$470,000, while the expenditure amounted to \$1,285,000; for the deficiency Parliament had again to give a Bill of indemnity. Since then hon. gentlemen would be aware the organization of this force had to be kept up to the standard of 1866 in consequence of Fenian movements. Indeed it would appear as if they were moving all the time. Well, in 1866 and 1867 the amount appropriated was \$1,887,000, and the money actually spent \$1,700,000; and now for the present year, that is, from July last to July next, there was an appropriation necessary including \$140,000 to Nova Scotia, and \$80,000 to New Brunswick; he could not get from these Provinces an accurate statement of their expenditure, but estimated it at these figures; but including these, an expenditure of \$1,148,000 would be necessary, besides \$470,000 for Barrack accommodation, &c., necessary, and for the ammunition they bought from the Imperial Government. The \$1,148,000 was in fact, ordinary expenditure. The whole amount of Military expenditure during the current year with these claims paid by the Imperial Government, and for which they would have to be reimbursed, would

amount to \$1,621,000. During the last three years, it would thus be seen, they had spent on an average more than \$1,500,000 a year on the militia, but there was something to show to their credit on account of this large expenditure. The Government of Canada had in store, paid for, \$457,000 worth of property, and in the hands of the militia and volunteers they had \$828,000 clothing, &c. Then they had the value of the drill-sheds in the two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, amounting to \$81,000. The value of their gunboats was \$33,000, making in all \$1,400,000 worth which belonged to the Government of Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE inquired if the amount set down for drill-sheds was the sum paid by Government or the local value of these sheds. The municipalities, it should be remembered, paid half their cost.

Hon. Mr. CARTIER would answer the question fully another day. The municipalities, it was true, contributed their share, but he believed the property became that of the Government, but he would make inquiry about it. Government at all events owned about one-third the value of the drill-sheds. Now the aggregate of all the property belonging to the Militia Department was \$1,400,000, and supposing \$40,000 were deducted from that for the share owned by the municipalities in the drill sheds, \$1,360,000 worth of property would be left to represent a portion of the expenditure, of which he had just spoken. He believed the member for Chateauguay did not believe in the usefulness of such property as not paying a dividend. But inasmuch as it was property for the defence of the country, it was really yielding a larger dividend to the people of the Dominion than if the money it represented was sunk in bank stock. He came now to the bill of costs. (Hear, hear). He said "hear, hear," too; and would expect his friends not to be frightened beforehand.

It being six o'clock the House rose.

After recess,

Hon. Mr. CARTIER resumed his speech. The measure which he was about to introduce, if it became law, would afford the means of protection and defence required during the last three years, but at a greatly reduced expenditure. Should there be another Fenian invasion, they would be met with still stronger force than on the previous occasion. They would make known by their fortifications and militia measure that they were determined to be British—(hear)—that they would acknowledge no other sovereign. He felt sure that if it were necessary to carry out an expensive measure of defence, the House would sanction it. (Hear). His measure was an

economical one, and would commend itself to the House. He would now proceed to speak of the Bill of Costs. In the first place, he intended extending the military schools; for having introduced these military schools in the late Province of Canada, the member for Cornwall deserved every credit. These schools in Toronto, Montreal, Quebec and Kingston had been attended with most satisfactory results. He desired that native military talent should be employed as much as possible, for there were many men in Upper and Lower Canada who understood training well. Into the sister Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the benefits of these schools were to be extended, and in his appropriation he would ask sufficient to enable schools to be established there. He would have to provide for the salary of the Adjutant General, the Deputy Adjutant General, and officers required for that department, and would also have to provide for nine district Deputy Adjutant Generals, with their necessary staff, and also for six Brigade Majors, besides the number now employed. Now for the departmental salaries, including the department of the Adjutant General at Ottawa, his deputy and clerks and the Deputy Adjutant Generals at the head of the several districts which he had mentioned, with their staff—the whole expenditure, in fact, would be \$54,000. To this had to be added the sum for Brigade Majors. Under this head, in the late Province of Canada, the expenditure had been \$19,000. In addition to the officers then required, six more had to be appointed for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, making the whole amount \$25,000. For contingencies, he provided the sum of \$45,000. For accidents to which the force was liable at drill, the average sum voted by the late Province of Canada had been \$2,000, and this sum, he was happy to say, had only been to a small extent drawn on. Hence, he thought, \$3,000 would be ample for the Dominion. Ammunition was set down at \$50,000; military schools, \$120,000. In the late Province of Canada, the average expenditure in each military school had been \$20,000, the four schools costing \$80,000. To this he proposed to add \$40,000, for the same service in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. This brought him to the large item of clothing. Of course, as he explained, the Government had already in store an amount belonging to the volunteers, and doubtless New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had also property in this way, but he had yet no data in this matter. Well, for this service he proposed to ask \$75,000 annually. It was, he might say, presumed the clothes of a militia man lasted 5 years, but that did not prove to be the case. Then, again, presuming there would be at least 20,000 volunteers organized, their cost

for sixteen days drill would be \$160,000, and for their horses there would be an expenditure of \$15,000. With regard to the service companies, he would not ask an appropriation exceeding the expenditure for eight days' drill for the first year. He made his calculation on 20,000 service militia men, at eight days, making \$128,000; and then there were 6,000 officers. At first he had intended these should receive \$1 a day; but, ultimately, it was resolved to put all the officers of the reserve as well as those of the volunteer force on 50 cents par day, and consequently the expenditure under this head would be reduced. At \$1 per day each, the 6,000 officers would cost \$48,000; but, as he said, the allowance had been reduced one-half.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Surely the hon. gentleman does not put 6,000 officers to 20,000 men.

Hon. Mr. CARTIER said he alluded to the active and service militia men. By the Bill he introduced, he supposed the country divided into 200 battalions, with 30 officers for each battalion, making 6,000. The transport of the service militia, taking the ballot and unforeseen expenses, he set down at \$33,000, taking the enrolment \$32,000; and this would be done every alternate year by the captain of every company division, who would receive a sum to make a census according to the number of militiamen to be enrolled. After the first enrolment, the Government would have of course better data to go on. For the Brigade Majors, the estimated expense was \$25,000, the sum formerly voted for this purpose by the Province of Canada being \$19,000. Then for Drill Instructors, \$50,000 was required.

Mr. MACKENZIE—That is more than half as much again as last year.

Hon. Mr. CARTIER replied that this was owing to the extra provision for New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and also to provide for the increasing population in Quebec and Ontario. Military stores, great coats and accoutrements came next—\$55,000 altogether annually. The whole service to be performed under his Bill came to an expense of \$900,000 and no more. (Laughter.) Of course, he had not included any amount which the Dominion Parliament might choose to appropriate for drill sheds, for the policy of the late Government of Canada in that respect ought to be, and he hoped would be carried out. Now, in conclusion, he would say he was almost ashamed of coming before that great House of Commons, and asking so small an amount of money to enable him to perform so great a service. (Laughter.)

Mr. MACKENZIE—The honorable gentleman has not often sinned in that direction. (Laughter.)

Hon. Mr. CARTIER knew he had been a sinner ; but thought for this measure, at all events, he deserved praise. He thought he would deserve credit for maintaining 40,000 men and 6,000 officers in a state of efficiency at the small charge of \$900,000. The member for Chateauguay was no doubt astonished (laughter) but that sum was all he (Mr. Cartier) meant to ask for.

Mr. MACKENZIE—In calculating the expenses last year, the hon. gentleman included the expenditure on gunboats—an item of \$153,000, and with the view apparently that this present measure should contrast as favourably as possible with that before in force, he had omitted to include any expense under this head.

Hon. Mr. CARTIER would explain gladly. Last year gunboats had to be purchased ; hence the expenditure. Now the Government had two gunboats, and needed no vote of consequence for that service. Besides, most of the expenditure for the gunboats would be provided by the Imperial Government.

In answer to Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD McDONALD.

Hon. Mr. CARTIER said it was provided with regard to the assembling of service companies that it should be done by regulations enacted from time to time, to suit each district. He would add that perhaps the \$900,000 asked for would not be spent ; in this case, a portion might be applied to the procuring of tents to shelter the service companies. From a statement of prices before him he found that the English prices for 200 regimental division tents, officers and privates, would amount to \$86,000. It was also provided by the Bill that the Governor in Council should make regulations with regard to the carrying out of the measure, and these regulations would be laid before Parliament during the first twenty or thirty days of the session. With regard to the enrolment in time of war, every one would be obliged to serve, with the privilege of securing a substitute : in time of peace every man will be obliged to serve, but can supply a substitute or pay \$30.

In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON.

Hon. Mr. CARTIER said that before the second reading, the correspondence respecting the organization of the Militia and Fortifications of the country would be brought down to the House, as also the laws of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Canada, to assist in the discussion of this measure.

In reply to Mr. JONES.

Hon. Mr. CARTIER said there was no law to compel young men educated in the military schools to remain in the country. They were free to come and go when they wished, but the country would at all events have the honour of giving such as

did leave a good military education. The young men in the country, he was happy to say, were fired by military ardour. They knew that 50,000 men from Canada enrolled themselves in the Northern ranks during the war. Again they had 150 young men who went voluntarily and enrolled themselves in the Pontifical army. They went to fight against Garibaldi, who was nothing but an Italian Fenian—(loud laughter)—and went to uphold his Holiness, who was one of the staunchest opponents of Fenianism. He (Mr. Cartier) knew this, for when an hon. gentleman (Mr. McGee) and himself had the honour of an audience with his Holiness, the first question he addressed to him (Mr. Cartier) was "My dear child, I hope these Yankee Irish Fenians have ceased to trouble you." The whole Catholic Church, he might add, was opposed to Fenianism. (Cheers).

Hon. J. S. McDONALD alluded to the measure of 1862 as showing the distaste of the people of Canada to being coerced into military service. He believed that in the absence of danger the present or any other measure introduced would be a dead letter as regarded the mass of the Militia; but let danger once arise, and every man in Canada would be prepared to rush to arms in defence of his home and country. He alluded to the heartiness with which large appropriations for the defence of the country had been carried in the House, and the unanimity with which this action of the representatives had been regarded by the people. The Minister of Militia had drawn a glowing picture of the valorous deeds which would be achieved by the 700,000 fighting men whom Canada could place in the field, but he knew well that this Bill did nothing for the military training of this body of men, except the service men. He then alluded to the violent attacks made on himself by Mr. Cartwright and other gentlemen on the opposite side, because of the alleged short-comings of his measure. The gentlemen drew their inspiration from a Despatch from the Colonial Office requiring Canada to maintain 50,000 men in a state of efficient drill. Among others who made incessant attacks on him, because his patriotism did not reach that pitch, was the present Minister of Finance. He wished to know what these gentlemen would find it incumbent on them to say now, when under circumstances more menacing of danger, and with two other Provinces added to the Union, the Minister of Militia was now content with 40,000 men. (Hear, hear.) He proceeded to read passages from the Duke of Newcastle's Despatch, which, besides requiring 50,000 men, demanded that we should set apart a certain sum of money for purposes of defence for five years beyond the domain of our own Parlia-

ment and under the control of the Imperial Government. He referred to the prompt answer given by his government, that the people of this country would adhere to the principle that when they raised money, they should have the disposal of it themselves, and that it was beyond the resources of this country that 50,000 men should be drilled in the manner proposed. He and the honourable gentlemen who were his colleagues had now the satisfaction of finding that the principles they had laid down in regard to the number of men and the expense they would incur, and which met the hostility of the gentlemen opposite, were the very principles of the measure now submitted. (Hear, hear.) The Bill, from the explanations which had been given, he thought should receive the support of the House. The only material difference between it and his own measure was as to the machinery of enrolment, his measure in that respect did not cost the country anything, while by the present bill \$32,000 was asked for the enrolment by the captains. He did not know what the gentlemen who formed the regular opposition might say of the bill, but to his own mind the general outlines of it which had been submitted were satisfactory, it was in fact a carrying out of the measure of his (Mr. Sandfield McDonald's) Government. He proceeded to refer to the great interest taken by Lord Monck in militia matter and the assistance he had received from him in preparing his measure. He then expressed satisfaction at hearing the complimentary language in which the Minister of Militia had referred to Lt.-Col. W. Powell, for whose appointment he (Mr. Sandfield McDonald) had been at the time condemned by gentlemen opposite in unmeasured terms. It was a lesson to public men that when they made up their minds they were right (and he well knew that Mr. Powell's business abilities fitted him for the position), they should go ahead, and the day would come when they would be compensated for the abuse which at the time they might receive.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had anticipated, from the known proclivities of the Minister of Militia, that he would have submitted a very different bill from that which had been actually presented to the House. As that honorable gentleman had frequently declared that he never regretted anything he did, he had expected we would have had the famous Lysons bill presented again. He supposed the people generally would not be sorry that this expectation had not been realized. (Hear.) But taking a cursory view of the scheme as presented, he thought it was either too little or too much. It appeared to him that the sum of money to be appropriated was far more than enough to accomplish the results sought to be obtained.

The bill, therefore, was insufficient as regarded what it would achieve ; or it was too dear for what we would get. He was glad, however, to infer from what had fallen from the Minister of Militia, that he had succeeded in satisfying the English Government, and also the Commander of our Militia, Col. Macdougall, who, it was rumoured, had prepared a bill very different from this in its character. He could not enter to-night into any discussion of details, until he had the bill before him, to contrast it with the present law ; but he would say that so far as the gentlemen on the side of the House with whom he generally acted were concerned, the Minister of Militia would receive from them no factious opposition in this matter more than in any other matter ; but that they would be prepared to support the Government in any Military expenditure which might be considered necessary, when the defence of the country and the honour of the empire were concerned. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Mackenzie then referred to the different treatment given by gentlemen opposite to the Government of the member for Cornwall at the time when they laid down their policy on the question of defence, in the Despatch which had been alluded to, and which he characterized as the best written state paper which he had ever seen emanating from this country. He then referred to a remark of Mr. Cartier's as to the number of the seafaring population of Great Britain, and gave the correct figures, showing that Britain and her colonies, in the commerce and marine, had afloat on the sea a total of 432,000 men, and said that those figures were consoling when they read the taunt occasionally spoken of in the United States about the decadence of the British power. (Cheers). He closed by stating that he would embrace the opportunity afforded by the second reading of the Bill, to give at greater length his views on the measure and the question of defence generally.

Hon. Mr. DORION contrasted the features of this Bill with the existing law introduced by the Government of which he was a member, and stated that this measure put restrictions to volunteering by confining the number of volunteers in any regimental division to the quota that division was required to furnish. In districts where the quota was not furnished by volunteering, resort would be had to the ballot. By this Bill therefore the compulsory system was substituted for the volunteer system. He saw no good reason for such a change, on the contrary, he thought every encouragement should be given to volunteering.

Hon. Mr. CARTIER made some remarks in reply to observations by previous speakers. He said although he and his friends had found fault with the short-comings of the member

for Cornwall, they had voted for his measure. He hoped similar treatment would be accorded to the measure he now introduced, even by those who might be disposed to criticise some of its features.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT was as firmly convinced as ever that the conduct of Parliament in refusing the measure of 1862 was unpatriotic and such as had injured the country.

In reply to Mr. BLANCHET.

Hon. Mr. CARTIER said the volunteer service was reduced from five to three years, with the privilege of leaving, on six months' notice, except when on actual service. They would have no remuneration save that of the feeling of honor consequent on the faithful discharge of their duty. The Governor had power to divide the country into geographical and regimental divisions. The battalions were to be formed of all the service and volunteer companies. The country was divided into 9 districts, these to be sub-divided into regimental divisions, and again into company divisions. It is proposed that Lower Canada be divided into three districts; Ontario four districts, and New Brunswick and Nova Scotia one district each. He further explained that he intended to move the second reading of the Bill for Easter Tuesday.

RESOLUTIONS

RELATIVE TO

FORTIFICATIONS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

OTTAWA, May 1, 1868.

Sir G. E. CARTIER moved that the House resolve itself into committee of the whole to consider the following resolutions:

1st. That it is expedient to provide that a sum not exceeding £1,100,000 sterling, be applied to defray the expense of constructing works of fortifications for the defence of Montreal and other cities and places west of Montreal, and also for the defence of the city of St. John, N. B.

2nd. That it is expedient that sums required for the purpose mentioned in the preceding resolution be raised from time to time by loan under guarantee of the Imperial Government, and that the sum so raised with the interest thereon, be a charge on the consolidated revenue fund of Canada, next after the appropriation for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway; as shall also such further sums as may be necessary to repay the said loan either by way of a sinking fund not exceeding one per centum per annum on the principal sum so raised for the purpose of paying off the same, or in such other way as the Governor in Council may determine.

The Hon. gentleman spoke at some length on the resolutions. He said the subject contained in these resolutions was not new. It was proposed to raise £1,100,000 sterling on the guarantee of the Imperial Government for works of fortifications for the defence of Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, Paris or London; and also St. John, New Brunswick. When this subject was mooted some time ago, the cry was raised that the money would be applied to the fortification of Montreal alone. It was now his happiness to give a contradiction to this statement by submitting these resolutions. It was well-known that

the Imperial Government had undertaken the fortification of Quebec. They would also do what was necessary for the defence of Halifax as the principal British naval station on this continent. The Imperial Government had always declared that the whole resources of the empire were pledged to the defence of Canada; but at the same time Canada must do something for herself. The despatches showing the views of the Imperial Government had been laid before the House. They required us to provide for the defence of Montreal. It had been represented that it would not do to leave Ontario undefended. The Imperial Government did not wish to leave us in a false position. They stated that with Montreal and Quebec fortified, they would undertake the defence of Canada. This had given rise to the impression that all the money would be spent at Quebec and Montreal, and that Ontario would be left defenceless. Conferences followed between the Canadian and Imperial Governments, and it was agreed that there should also be fortifications at various strategic points in Upper Canada—Toronto, Kingston, Hamilton, and other places. The Imperial Government with that view agreed to extend the guarantee to the amount required to be raised for fortifying those places, as well as Montreal. It was not in his power to submit any confidential report as to the precise nature of these fortifications. It would not be right for him to do so. To break secrecy with regard to these reports would be to defeat, to some extent, the object aimed at. The sum required for the fortification of Montreal, though the principal point to be fortified, would not exceed £430,000 sterling or £440,000 sterling. An entrenched camp would be constructed there in order to provide for an invasion from our neighbours, whether by Lake Champlain or from Ogdensburgh. This camp and the fortifications would extend from opposite Montreal, and would reach the County of Vaudreuil. This £440,000 sterling would provide fortifications that would meet the views of the British Government. The expenditure for the land and sea defence of St. John, New Brunswick, would be £190,000 sterling to £200,000. There would then be reserved more than half the amount for Ontario. A large portion of this balance would be spent at Kingston, the key to Upper Canada; the rest at Toronto, Hamilton, Paris or London. It was probable that at London there would be works in the shape of an Inland Camp. There would be various objections to this expenditure for fortifications. First, it would be said they would be unproductive works. In reply to this he would say that our country had reached that position of importance that we should follow the

examples of other nations and fence our country against aggression. When we made fences between ourselves and our neighbours, it was a solemn declaration to them and to the world that we intended to remain connected with Great Britain. We should remember that we had received a great deal of money from Britain; the capital of our banks, the money for the construction of our railways, &c.; and when we raised the defences of which we had spoken, it was an additional security to the British capitalists that their money was safe, and we would in future receive what more money we wanted on cheaper terms. The argument therefore against his scheme, or rather against the scheme suggested by the British Government, that it was spending money on unproductive works, would not hold good. Another objection was, that it was too heavy an expenditure for our resources. The Minister of Finance had shown that in the coming year there would be a sufficient surplus to pay interest and sinking fund on the money raised not only for these fortifications but for the Intercolonial Railway. If the money was borrowed in five annual instalments of £220,000 sterling each, the charge for the first year at four per cent interest and one per cent sinking fund would be \$52,532; on the second year \$107,066; on the third year \$160,600; fourth year \$214,133; fifth and thereafter \$267,666. In 35 or 42 years, according to whether the sinking fund was invested at six per cent or five per cent, the whole amount would be entirely paid off; and he thought that such a charge on the public treasury was a very light one when we took into account the immense benefit the Dominion would derive from it. The ordinary expenditure for the Militia would not exceed \$900,000 or \$1,000,000, add to that the charge for interest and sinking fund on the fortifications loan of \$267,000 after five years, and the charge on so great a country as the Dominion of Canada for the maintenance of the Militia organization and for fortifications, would not be more than \$1,267,000 yearly. This was less than the charge on any other people similarly situated, but he believed that possibly the charge for militia after we had these fortifications might be less than what he had stated. Another objection was embodied in the idea that with the heavy guns of modern times, Armstrongs and others, there were no fortifications that could resist them. This idea he pronounced fallacious and unfounded. Some hon. gentleman had stated that the best fortifications Her Majesty could have for the defence of this Dominion, were to be found in the loyalty and in the hearts of its inhabitants. He admitted this furnished a most essential defence, but they were not sufficient. A nation infe-

rior in number could not cope with a nation superior in number without fortifications. Those having such feelings should be protected so that they might live as long as possible to confront the foe. He could not admit for a moment that fortifications were useless. They were especially valuable for a nation situated as ours; for though our climate had its disadvantages, it had this advantage, that it limited the possibility of military operations against us to six months in the year. In the late war in the United States we had seen how long the immense armies under the Northern generals had been kept at bay by the fortifications of Petersburg and Richmond. By means of their fortifications the South, which could only put 400,000 men in the field, had for five years successfully resisted the North with its vastly superior resources, and which put into the field altogether 2,600,000 men. If Canada should be invaded we had the power of British to back us, and the United States would require a large portion of their forces to defend their Atlantic sea board and California and Oregon, which were more vulnerable by Britain than Canada was by the United States. He did not see how the United States, in the event of a war, could spare more than 150,000 men for the invasion of Canada; but with the expenses of the late war and the burdens it had entailed on them he did not believe the United States would go to war with Great Britain. (Opposition cries of "hear, hear.") It was said that in case of a war with the United States, let us meet them with flesh against flesh, but they had more flesh than we had and not content with that they were erecting fortifications besides. The hon. gentleman then referred to the history of the Crimean war to show the value of fortifications; also to the negotiations between France and Prussia about Luxemburg, and to the part played by the Quadrilateral in saving Austria during the late Italian war. He expected the resolutions he had now the honour to submit would be accepted almost unanimously by the House. The member for Lambton had stated he would move an amendment, but he believed the hon. gentleman himself would be pleased if his amendment were defeated by an overwhelming majority. His (Sir George's) intention was not to press a vote to go into committee to-day. He wished to have the discussion go on with the advantage of having the Speaker in the chair, and after it had gone on for some time he would move for an adjournment of the debate, that every member might have an opportunity of full reflection before the vote was taken.